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wards to reorganize their life and institutions weakened and crippled to a degree which it is difficult to estimate.

The powers of Europe have played a very poor hand in this crisis. One or two of them seem to have sincerely desired to preserve the peace, but the record of their joint performances in the past in the Near East has been such that nobody has had any confidence in their disposition or their ability to do anything timely or effective for real peace. Certainly the Balkan states themselves have had every reason to distrust and ignore the so-called great powers. When the causes of the war are sought out and set in order it will probably be found true that these first-class (?) powers have been almost as guilty as Turkey herself in bringing on the conflict. The less they have to do, therefore, in the final adjustment following the war, the better it will probably be for that much afflicted corner of the earth.

Let us all hope that the hostilities, which have begun with almost unheard of swiftness and deadliness, may as speedily end, and that a future of liberty and self-government and real peace may be assured to those long-suffering peoples.

The Interparliamentary Conference at Geneva.

The Seventeenth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, held at Geneva, September 18 to 20, suffered from the lateness of the season and other causes quite as much as the Peace Congress. The enrollment reached only 160, whereas in former conferences the attendance sometimes has been three or four times that number. There were only four representatives from the United States group, namely, Senator T. E. Burton, Congressmen Richard Bartholdt, Frank Plumley, and William D. B. Ainey, as against fifteen or twenty in other years. The absence of the Italian representatives, because of the war in Tripoli, also contributed seriously to the reduction of numbers, for Italy has heretofore had one of the largest delegations in the conference.

In other respects, however, the conference was unusually strong and successful. Prominent among the delegates were Mr. Beernaert, the distinguished Belgian statesman; Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, from France; Mr. Louis Franck, Senators La Fontaine and Houzeau de Lehaie, from Belgium; Lord Wear-dale, president of the British group; Dr. Zorn, Dr. Quidde, and Mr. Eickhoff, from Germany; Mr. Tydeman, from The Netherlands; Mr. Kowaleski, from Russia; Frederik Bajer, from Denmark, and Senator Burton and Congressman Bartholdt, from the United States. It was particularly noteworthy that the men present were very largely those who are doing the real work of the Union in the different countries.

The discussions were very able and interesting and dealt directly with the phases of the movement for which the Union has most stood—arbitration treaties, the court of arbitral justice, limitation of armaments, etc. An effort was made to widen the scope of the

labors of the Union, and it is probable that hereafter international relations in the widest sense will be considered the proper field of its work.

The conference was opened by Mr. Beernaert, president of the Union. He nominated, as acting president, Dr. Albert Gobat, a member of the Swiss National Council. Dr. Gobat, who has been an active member of the Union from the first, and long its executive secretary, opened the exercises with a brief speech in which he called to mind noted members who had passed away; to the part taken by the Swiss statesmen in the work of the Union, and to the limited progress in the realization of their ideals which had been made with the military governments. "Indeed," he said, "we have arrived at the epoch at which murder is committed from the heights of the air." He urged increased energy and devotion in the work of the Union.

Mr. Henri Fazy, president of the Swiss State Council, an aged and highly honored statesman, extended the welcome of Geneva and of the entire country to the delegates.

Two questions were taken up the first day. The first was whether the Union should be composed only of members of national parliaments or should continue to admit also members of certain states in empires, like some of the German states. The debate on this subject was participated in by a number of prominent delegates, some of whom urged the widest extension possible of the privilege of membership; others a restriction to the members of national parliaments strictly speaking. The subject was finally disposed of the next day by the adoption of a proposition made by the council of the Union that only subordinate states having foreign departments, as some of the German states have, should have representatives in the Union.

The second question considered was that of international arbitration. This was introduced by Dr. Zorn, the eminent Bonn professor, who had been chairman of the German delegation at the First Hague Conference. He admitted that much progress had been made since the time of the First Hague Conference in the domain of arbitral jurisdiction. He believed that it was possible to arrive at a world treaty of arbitration. Reference to national honor and vital interests, he claimed, might be dropped from treaties, as the safeguarding of these was inherent in the very notion of national sovereignty. Discussing the relations of international tribunals of obligatory arbitration to national judicial systems, he held (1) that the nations should be legally bound to submit regularly to arbitral jurisdiction all disputes in the realm of international law not adjustable by diplomacy; (2) that consenting to be legally bound by treaty, they would finally find themselves under the necessity of modifying their international juridical systems so as to harmonize with the international juridical legislation, and (3) that the international tribunal of arbitration should also be a legislative organ determining in an authentic way the sense and scope of the arbitration treaty. He paid a warm tribute to the Hague Court so far as regards matters of public international law, but he urged the members of the Interparliamentary Union to secure the preliminary study of the question of instituting an international juridical court for questions of private international law, now become so important through the prodigious development of traffic and

general relations among the states and peoples of the world. He closed his remarkable paper by saying that however much these questions may impress themselves upon the attention and zeal of competent men, the final and supreme guarantee of peace lies none the less in the goodwill and reciprocal confidence of states and races. There was some criticism of Dr. Zorn's position on the subject of national honor, but his general presentation of the subject was enthusiastically approved by the conference.

Dr. Zorn was followed by Mr. Eickhoff, president of the German group, who insisted on the urgent necessity of the institution of an independent international juridical tribunal. He declared that he and all his group supported the conclusions of Dr. Zorn.

On the second day the forenoon was occupied in the discussion of Dr. Zorn's great paper. Senator La Fontaine, of Belgium; Mr. Hagerup, of Norway, president of the Institute of International Law; Mr. Louis Franck, the distinguished Belgian jurist; Mr. Ellinger, of Denmark, and Dr. Zorn himself participated in the discussion. The conference then by a unanimous vote committed itself anew to the realization of a system of juridical settlement of international disputes. The question of national honor was not voted upon.

The afternoon of the second day was given to the subject of the limitation of armaments, which was introduced by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant in one of the admirable speeches for which he is distinguished. He pointed out, as in former conferences, the growing perils of the present armed peace, the responsibility of the sensational journals in the matter, the progress of opposition among the masses to the ever-growing war and navy budgets, etc. The Baron was supported by Mr. Horst, of Norway; Baron Palmstierna, of Sweden; Count Goblet d'Alviella, of Belgium; Mr. Bajer, of Denmark (who urged a combination of the small states to bring pressure to bear upon the great powers in favor of the arrest of armaments); Hon. Richard Bartholdt, of the United States; Mr. Huysmans, of Belgium; Dr. Quidde, of Munich, and Mr. Lough, of Great Britain. The whole discussion was most interesting and inspiring. It revealed clearly the settled purpose of the Interparliamentary Union to use its great influence against the continuance of the present rivalry in armaments, and to find a means of making early relief from its burdens possible.

On the last day a resolution was adopted urging the holding of a Third Hague Conference and the appointment, at least two years in advance, of an international committee to prepare the program. A further resolution was voted praying the different governments to instruct their delegates to the next Hague Conference to adopt measures to assure the automatic meeting of the conference hereafter. A resolution introduced and ably expounded and defended by Mr. Bartholdt, urging that in the negotiation of arbitration treaties there should be a clause guaranteeing territorial integrity and absolute sovereignty in internal affairs, aroused a spirited debate in which most of the European delegates took issue with Mr. Bartholdt. They believed, though they did not say it in so many words, that in the territorial arrangements of Europe there were injustices that ought not to be sanctioned by the Union. One delegate, in vigorous phrase, said: "We do not wish to guarantee to

the brigand states the prey which they have taken." The proposition was referred to the council for further consideration.

Before the session closed the hope was expressed that the Italians who had absented themselves from the conference might return to the Union as soon as the Tripolitan war was over. The delegates were urged to do everything possible in their home parliaments and governments to realize the purposes of the Union. It was decided that the Eighteenth Conference be held next year at The Hague, when the dedication of the Palace of Peace will take place, and that a side conference be held at Ghent.

The conference had been opened with a brilliant reception given by the Union to the authorities of Geneva at the Eynard Palace; it closed with a banquet in the "Hall of Kings" at the Hotel Arquebuse, at which the usual felicitations and votes of thanks were extended.

One interesting incident more. At noon on the opening day a commemorative ceremony took place in the "Hall of the Alabama," at the Hotel de Ville, where the arbitration of the Alabama dispute took place in 1872. The room was crowded with members of the Union and a few others. Mr. Henri Fazy, who had participated in the proceedings of the Arbitration Commission forty years ago, presided, and gave some interesting reminiscences of the event. Then Senator Burton for the United States and Lord Weardale for Great Britain gave brief addresses in which they emphasized the historic significance of the Alabama Arbitration in the relations of the two English-speaking nations and its influence as a great example in promoting the general application of the principle of arbitration in the settlement of international controversies.

Notes on the Geneva Peace Congress.

The president of the Congress, Mr. Quartier-la Tente, of Neuchâtel, a member of the National Council of Switzerland, a man of fine personality, though new to the peace congresses, performed the duties of presiding officer, made somewhat difficult at times by the disorder, with intelligence, force, tactfulness, and patience. His address on opening the Congress was of a high order, both in matter and manner, and we hope to give our readers the pleasure of reading it.

The Congress owed much of its success and the delegates much of their comfort and pleasure to the faithful and efficient services of the chairman of the Committee on Organization, Prof. Louis Favre. The committee was not entrusted with the task of organization till late in the summer, and had only a limited amount of time in which to do their work. But it was the practically universal testimony of the delegates that the chairman could not well have done better. He seemed to be everywhere where he was needed, not only at the sessions of the Congress, but at the receptions, the public meetings, on the excursions, etc. To vigor and go he added exceptional intelligence, patience, and devotion to the interests and comfort of all. Professor Favre has our most heartfelt thanks.

Prominent among the side occurrences at the Geneva Peace Congress was a meeting of the German and the